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Citation for published version:

Quayle, E & Cooper, K 2015, 'The role of child sexual abuse images in coercive and non-coercive relationships with adolescents: A thematic review of the literature', *Child and Youth Services*, vol. 36, no. 4, pp. 312-328. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0145935X.2015.1092840>

Digital Object Identifier (DOI):

[10.1080/0145935X.2015.1092840](https://doi.org/10.1080/0145935X.2015.1092840)

Link:

[Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer](#)

Document Version:

Peer reviewed version

Published In:

Child and Youth Services

Publisher Rights Statement:

This is an Accepted Manuscript of an article published by Taylor & Francis in *Child & Youth Studies* on [date of publication], available online: <http://www.tandfonline.com/10.1080/0145935X.2015.1092840>

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The Role of Child Sexual Abuse Images in Coercive and Non-Coercive Relationships with Adolescents: a thematic review of the literature.

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Abstract

The objective of this paper is to present a thematic review of the fragmented literature that pertains to the role of child sexual abuse images in online coercive and non-coercive relationships with adolescents, to synthesise and contextualise current research on this topic, and to identify some of the complexities in the self-production of sexual images by adolescents and their potential use by offenders. To date, the literature has largely considered the role of child sexual abuse images of minors of all ages in relation to the offending process, and in particular the offender. In contrast, adolescent studies have focused on 'sexting' and the risks of harm that follow from the self-production and sharing of sexual images. This review examines why there is a trend for child abuse image production to be increasingly associated with adolescent self-produced sexual images, and how this may be related to individual coercion, as well as changing social and Internet contexts. Practitioners need to understand the technological and social affordances offered by the Internet, particularly in relation to the ability to produce sexual images, as part of a more ecological approach to understanding online abuse and exploitation.

Keywords

Adolescence; Internet offenders; sexting; online grooming.

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Introduction

This thematic review of the literature will examine evidence of the role of the Internet in adolescent risk taking and consequent harm, and consider the opportunities afforded by the Internet for the creation and sharing of sexual images. These opportunities are increasingly central to online sexual solicitation and grooming in which adolescents are targeted (Quayle, Allegro, Hutton, Sheath & Lööf, 2014) and where image production by young people (through web cameras and mobile devices) is actively encouraged. The review will explore, within the larger picture of sexual abuse image production and use, the potentially coercive and non-coercive contexts in which adolescents may produce these images and the implications this has for a more nuanced approach by practitioners to self-produced sexual pictures and the consequences they might have for young people. The paper first examines the Internet as a context for adolescent risk taking and examines some of the complexities about our understanding of harm. It then considers the larger issue of sexual abuse images and their role in the offending process against minors, before moving the focus to self-produced sexual content by adolescents, its relationship with sexting, and how this has also more recently been criticised as emphasising deviance rather than developmentally appropriate sexual behaviour. The final section returns the focus to our understanding of self-produced images by adolescents as part of coercive relationships, by both adults and other young people. The paper concludes with an examination of self-produced images within an ecological framework, which may enable a more nuanced understanding of this phenomenon for practitioners.

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The Internet as a context for adolescent risk taking and harm.

Risk taking by all children, but particularly adolescents, is largely accepted as developmentally appropriate and important (Johnson, Sudhinaraset & Blum, 2010). However, sexual risk taking has always been a source of concern, which has been exacerbated by technological change. The evidence suggests that online sexual risk taking behavior is practiced by only a minority of adolescents, and that these young people are also likely to engage in offline sexual risk taking (Baumgartner, Sumter, Peter & Valkenburg, 2012). In spite of this, fears about sexual risk to children in relation to the Internet have polarized debates about online activity by young people and people (usually adults) thought to have a sexual interest in minors. Finkelhor (2014) describes alarmism reflected by scholarly and journalistic literature, which is said to be founded on assumptions about deviance amplification and the Internet, the role and dynamics of the digital environment, and remedies to the problems lying in specialised Internet education programmes. This sits alongside, and at times is in tension with, a growing literature related to offending against children in the online environment (e.g. Aslan & Edelmann, 2014; Elliott, Beech & Mandeville-Norden, 2013; Magaletta, Faust, Bickart, & McLearn, 2014) as well as studies relating to the potential risks to young people from their online activities. A systematic review of the latter is provided by Livingstone and Smith (2014). They conclude that existing evidence would indicate that many of the online risks that appear to be preoccupying the research and practitioner community (cyberbullying, contact with strangers, sexual messaging and pornography) in fact affect fewer than 1 in 5 adolescents and that while these prevalence estimates vary, there does not seem to be any indication that these rates are increasing. Not

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surprisingly, there is no specific mention of harm through the production and dissemination of child sexual abuse images, outside 'sexual messages', which is used to refer to sexting by adolescents. However they do note that while not all online risks taken by adolescents result in harm (which in most studies is self-reported), the four longitudinal studies identified (Gámez-Guadix, Orue, Smith & Calvete, 2013; Lester, Cross & Shaw, 2012; Machmutow, Perren, Sticca & Alsaker, 2012; Schultze-Krumbholz, Jäkel, Schultze & Scheitauer, 2012) did indicate a range of adverse emotional and psychological consequences. Importantly, the review highlighted that not all children are at risk of harm and that several risk factors related to personality (sensation-seeking, low self-esteem, psychological difficulties), social factors (lack of parental support, peer norms) and digital factors (online practices, digital skills, use of specific online sites) are worthy of note. The complexities of the relationship between harm and risk (along with the methodological challenges for research) have been reviewed by Slavtcheva-Petkova, Nash and Bulger (2015).

There is danger of this debate, about whether or not the Internet is a harmful environment, becoming polarised and adversarial, in part because there are concerns that limited resources are invested in specialised police, child protection and educational services which, potentially, ignore the commonalities between activities that take place in both online and offline environments. It might be argued that recent political rhetoric about this topic in the United Kingdom, with Prime Minister David Cameron quoted as saying that he is, "committed to fighting the internet for the innocence of our children" (Williams, 2014), both fuels popular anxieties as much as it reflects them. However, we cannot ignore that the technological changes associated with the Internet are at a

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level that is different in some ways to earlier technological developments which were also linked with purported moral panics about dangers to children (Jewkes & Wykes, 2010). At another level, we imbue this technology with destructive power and fear for the safety (and control) of our children from those who use the Internet as a playground for sexual perversion (Altobelli, 2010). Lim (2013a) points out that the Internet is neither a technology of hope nor a weapon of moral destruction, rather the social impacts of the Internet result from an organic interaction between technology and existing social, political and cultural structures. While the label of moral panic around concerns about youth deviance, which may be enabled or facilitated by mobile communications, is unproductive, it is equally problematic to disregard the risks that such media can pose for young people under certain circumstances (Lim, 2013b).

What is different in relation to the Internet than earlier technological change, such as the advent of the television, is that the Internet's technological infrastructure resides within people's homes and is changing continuously, becoming increasingly connected. Multiple devices, including the 'smart' television, now provide access to the Internet and offer opportunities to consume media on demand. Personal devices such as smart phones enable both flexible consumption of content and the sharing of media, including photographs, with other people (Ley, Oganowski, Hess, Reichling, Wan & Wulf, 2014). This ability to access the Internet over multiple devices, many of which are portable, is relatively new, and this emerging pattern of access is thought to be re-shaping the way that we use the Internet in our everyday lives. Dutton and Blank (2014) define such users as Next Generation Users, and suggests that these are also more likely to be people who produce content, create a profile on a social

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networking site, and post pictures, videos and text based content.

This ability to create and share content is overwhelmingly seen as positive, except where it exposes children and young people to violent or sexual material and activities. One area of concern is the volume of online pornography and accidental or purposive access by young people. A review by Owens, Behun, and Reid (2012) of the research on exposure of adolescents to online pornography concluded that young people who consume pornography might develop sexual beliefs and values that are unrealistic. Frequent use of pornography was correlated with high levels of permissive sexual attitudes, sexual preoccupation and earlier sexual experimentation. Although there are conflicting results from these studies it would seem that there is a link between exposure to, and use of, pornography that depicts violence with increased sexually aggressive behaviour. However, some of the assumptions underpinning harm and online pornography exposure have been challenged (Chronaki, 2013), with Buckingham (2013) suggesting that we need a more holistic understanding of how children's sexuality is considered socially, and how children account discursively for their experiences. Children and adolescents may not share the same understanding of pornography as is expressed in research with adults, but as yet there has been little exploration of this. There are also tensions around accidental and purposeful exposure, the age of the children and the presence of existing vulnerabilities (Wolak, Finkelhor, Mitchell & Ybarra, 2008).

The creation, sharing and misuse of sexual images by adolescents can also be used aggressively (Wolak & Finkelhor, 2011), where an adult or adolescent may send sexual images of a known person to another with malicious intent. This aggressive use of sexual content has been noted in adult distribution of 'revenge

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porn', defined by Stroud (2014) as the intentional embarrassment of identifiable individuals through the posting of nude images online.

Child sexual abuse images and their role in sexual offences.

Offenders have always used sexual representations of children to enable sexual fantasies, act as memorabilia of former abusive relationships, persuade children to engage in sexual behavior and support the use of blackmail to silence children (Lanning, 2001). While the use of sexual images of children, and their distribution on the Internet, would seem to have a longer history than that of revenge porn (Taylor & Quayle, 2003), it may be argued that the capacity for individuals to create content adds another dimension to both crimes which, as with other technological advances, is likely to get easier to commit, rather than to simply disappear. Stroud's (2014) description of 'revenge porn' implies that it has a function for the individual posting these images: the humiliation of the person within the image.

Some of the earliest studies on online child abuse images, known in many jurisdictions as child pornography, also talked of the function of these images for the person taking, distributing or viewing them. Lanning (2001) described how images were used as: a means of sexual gratification; to lower children's inhibitions; blackmail; a medium of exchange, and profit. He also noted that, "Sympathy for victims is, however, inversely proportional to their age" (p 54). Another early functional account of child abuse image use has been given by Quayle and Taylor (2002), derived from interviews with offenders, which concluded that images: enabled sexual arousal; served as collectibles; facilitated social relationships; served as a way of avoiding real life; were used as 'therapy',

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and were embedded in other Internet behaviour.

How offenders use sexual images may relate to the motivations for the offence. Elliott and Beech's (2009) typology includes a four-level classification of offenders. 1) periodically prurient (access impulsively and sporadically as part of a larger interest in pornography), (2) fantasy-only (those who access/trade images to fuel a sexual interest in children and who have no known history of sexual offending, (3) direct victimization (who utilize online technologies as part of a larger pattern of contact and non-contact sexual offending), including child pornography and (4) commercial exploitation, consisting of the criminally-minded who produce or trade images to make money. Meridan, Curtis, Thakker, Wilson & Boer (2013) suggested a model that classified offenders into subgroups, defined by the function of the images in the offending behavior, the underlying motivation and the level of social networking in the behavior. Similar to Elliott and Beech (2009), there is a focus on whether the motivation is to enable fantasy about sexual activity with children and young people or direct contact victimization.

This distinction between fantasy and contact offending as a motivation has also been made in relation to offenders who attempt to entice an adolescent into a sexual relationship using an Internet chat room (Briggs, Simon & Simonsen, 2011). The study divided the sample of offenders into two subgroups: a group driven by the motivation to engage in an offline contact offense with an adolescent and a group whose fantasy was to engage in online cybersex with an adolescent, but without an express intent to meet them offline. However, this study highlighted that image-related behavior also was associated with the creation of sexual content by offenders of themselves. Within their sample of 51

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men, 68.6% sent their own sexual images to the person they were chatting to (who they believed to be a minor) and 31.3% created sexual content of themselves through the use of a webcam. These online offences against minors appear to mirror voyeurism and exhibitionism in the offline environment (Jung, Ennis, Stein, Choy & Hook, 2013).

Self-produced content and sexting.

Within this paper, self-produced images are considered alongside child sexual abuse images because they are increasingly identified within seized collections of illegal content by law enforcement from computers or portable devices. There are very few studies of men who produce child sexual abuse images (e.g. Sheehan & Sullivan, 2010), although Schuijjer & Rossen (1992) examined cases of hard copy production, which included interviews with some of the children photographed (now adults). This lack of research makes it challenging to know whether the advent of Web 2.0, and the increased ability to create content, has changed the nature of the images, although Schuijjer and Rossen (1992) claimed that much of the early content was made by ‘amateurs’ who sent their photographs to magazine producers. These ‘old’ images are still circulating on the Internet as scanned digital copies (Quayle & Jones, 2011).

In the United States, trends for arrests for the production of child pornography more than doubled between 2006-9 (Wolak, Finkelhor & Mitchell, 2012). The results of this study indicated that this rise was largely associated with a substantial increase in cases involving “youth-produced” sexual images. These were defined as pictures that had been taken by minors, usually of themselves, and which met the legal definitions for child pornography. In most of these cases, the images were solicited from their adolescent victims by adult

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offenders, and these were the people most likely to be arrested. The research demonstrated that by 2009, the majority of victims of child pornography production in the US were teenagers.

However, there are considerable challenges in understanding the age distribution of children within the total pool of child abuse images in circulation. Estimates vary depending on the samples and methodologies used. In 2013 the UK Child Exploitation and Online Protection agency produced their threat assessment of child sexual exploitation and abuse (CEOP, 2013). They sampled 301 cases occurring in a three-year period between 2010 and 2012, which was compared with a previous similar analysis and identified a 70% increase in female victims aged less than ten years. Similarly, the UK Internet Watch Foundation (IWF) in their trend report of all child sexual abuse urls analysed in 2014 indicated that 80% of the children appeared to be aged 10 years or younger (IWF, 2014). Where image analysis has used seized collections, or images of identified children, there does appear to be an increase in images made by underage teens themselves, which is perhaps not surprising given the age profile of young people who are aggressively solicited online (Wolak et al., 2008), who are more likely to be young adolescents. However, the self-production of sexual images of minors is profoundly concerning and challenges some of our beliefs about gender, sexual agency, orientation and childhood sexual innocence (Rollins, 2015). This activity by young people, particularly through the use of mobile phone technology, is often referred to as 'sexting'. The ability to self-produce sexual content is clearly not confined to adolescents and a systematic review by Klettke, Hallford and Mellor (2014) demonstrated that sexting was more prevalent in adults than young people. One of the limitations

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of this review was the challenge posed by the diversity of definitions of sexting across studies. Drouin, Fogel, Surbey and Stills (2013) identified inconsistency of definitions across the content of the messages, the medium used to send them and the context of the relationship in which the image was created and sent. Leary (2010) has referred to this material as 'self-produced child pornography'. For Leary, these are images that possess the following criteria: they meet the legal definition of child pornography and were originally produced by a minor with no coercion, grooming or adult participation whatsoever. The definition does not focus exclusively on the young person who makes the image but also those, 'juveniles in the distribution chain who may coerce production, or later possess, distribute, or utilize such images' (p. 492). However, Leary's definition does not acknowledge that coercion is not always easy to determine, can take place within peer relationships, and is not always understood by young people.

Estimates of the prevalence of sexting vary, with Klettke et al. (2014) identifying 12 studies (largely from the United States) related to adolescents. The mean prevalence across studies that specifically measured sexting with photo content (AP-MTV, 2009; Hinduja & Patchin, 2010; Mitchell et al., 2012) was 11.96%. Döring (2014) suggests that different findings of sexting prevalence are due to surveys based on different age groups, types of samples, data collection methods, and different single-item sexting measures. The motivations for sexting identified from Klettke et al.'s (2014) review include: a form of flirting and/or to gain romantic attention; as part of a sexual relationship; an experimental adolescent phase, and pressure from partner/friend(s). The research evidence suggests that in the majority of cases sexting is a process that takes place within either a (desired) romantic

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relationship or as a means of adolescent explorations of sexuality and identity creation. These findings correspond to the 'experimental' episodes of sexting identified in Wolak and Finkelhor's (2011) typology of US law enforcement cases. Their typology suggested a division into two categories, described as 'Aggravated' and 'Experimental'. The aggravated incidents involved criminal or abusive elements which included: adult involvement; criminal or abusive behavior by other minors such as harmful sexual behaviour, extortion, or threats; malicious conduct that arose from interpersonal conflict, or the creation, sending or showing of images without the knowledge, or against the will of a minor who was pictured. In the Experimental cases, young people took pictures out of typical adolescent impulses in order 'flirt, find romantic partners, experiment with sex and get attention from peers' (p 3).

The consequences of these self-produced sexual images for adolescents are largely seen as negative. There are concerns that the images may have long-lasting consequences (Houk, Barker, Rizzo, Hancock, Norton & Brown, 2013) related to the permanence of the images once uploaded, and what Lunceford (2011) has seen as the corresponding risk of harm at both an individual and social level. This notion of permanence has been challenged by Wolak and Finkelhor's (2011) 2009 NJOV data, which would indicate that while 89% of cases where young people produced images were distributed, only 11% were posted online. In 87% of cases young people took pictures of themselves and sent them to others, 56% of the distribution was to a single recipient by mobile phone only, and in only 15% of these cases were the images forwarded to others by a recipient. This may suggest that many of the educational messages given to young people about extensive dissemination of sexts once the image has been

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shared may in fact be misleading, and paradoxically make young people reluctant to disclose their anxieties about their behavior.

However, the increased use of mobile phones with advanced computing capability and connectivity has been noticeable since the introduction in 2007 of the first iPhone, followed by Android devices in 2008. In the UK, for 12-15 year olds who go online, a mobile phone is the most popular device for social and creative activities and 7 in 10 of those who go online have a social media profile, in which Facebook dominates (Ofcom, 2014). This study also indicates that the use of applications (apps) such as Instagram has doubled over the previous year and a significant minority of young people with a social media profile now uses other photo-or video-message sites or apps such as Snap Chat.

We do not know as yet what impact this may have in the distribution of self-produced images, but the capacity to upload content to social media, including photographs, has certainly increased since 2009 when the NJOV data was collected.

Deviance discourse and adolescent sexting.

Concerns about the problems associated with self-produced sexual content go beyond anxieties about the permanence of the images and their potential distribution to, and by, others. Döring (2014), in her review of the literature, found that 79 per cent of papers demonstrated a 'deviance discourse', addressing adolescent sexting as a 'risky' and 'problematic' behaviour and linking it to sexual objectification and violence, risky sexual behaviour, and to negative consequences like peer bullying and criminal prosecution under child pornography laws. Klettke et al. (2014) further identify four primary themes focusing on negative consequences to arise from sexting behaviours: potentially

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serious legal consequences; non-consensual sharing; negative mental health repercussions, and associated risk behaviours.

Another study by Ringrose, Livingstone and Harvey (2012) notes the potential for sexual harassment, online grooming, sexual pressures and 'objectification via the creation, exchange, collection, ranking and display of images'. The latter highlights the gendered nature of sexting, as while survey data suggest that boys and girls have similar rates of self-producing and sending images (Lenhart, 2009; Dake et al., 2012; Rice et al., 2012), there is some evidence that females may be more likely to send sexts than males, whilst males may be more likely to receive them (Klettke et al., 2014). This is of particular note within the context of self-produced sexual images, whereby young people's involvement in sexting is inextricably linked to both the cultural context and the experience of peer pressure: boys may seek to be held in high regard by their peers for producing and showing off pictures of girls, whereas girls are unlikely to elicit any peer approval for producing and sending image content (Ringrose et al., 2012). Females are more likely to be viewed as putting themselves at risk by their irresponsible behaviours (e.g. Lenhart, 2009; Hasinoff, 2013; Karaian, 2012; Ringrose et al., 2012). They also face potentially harsh criticism as a result of their actions. In their 2012 study, Ringrose et al. found that: *'...girls were ridiculed and judged for sending photos, and were quickly positioned as a 'sket' or slut almost unanimously by both boys and girls in the study. This sat in direct contrast to how boys were rewarded for shows of hard bodily masculinity such as posting photos of their muscles...'* (Ringrose et al., 2012:54).

Revisiting the role of coercion.

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This brings us back to the issue of coercion in the creation of sexual content by young people. Although in some cases girls undoubtedly consent to taking and sending self-produced sexual images, this does not mean that the activity always occurs in a context free of coercions (Hasinoff, 2013). The research suggests that many may be vulnerable to online and offline sexual harassment, with a perceived tendency for males to coerce or put pressure on girls to produce and share images of themselves (Lenhart, 2009; Henderson and Morgan, 2011; Englander, 2012; Ringrose et al., 2012; Walker, Sanci & Temple-Smith, 2013). Hasinoff (2013) discusses the ubiquity of sexual harassment from peers as an environment in which teenage girls make choices about how they embody and express their gender and sexual identities. In a study of 618 young people, Englander, (2012), found coercion to be twice as common among girls as boys. Of note, only six per cent of female and four per cent of male sexters reported that a stranger online had been the source of the pressure. Rather, the young people's peers, most often boyfriends, were most likely to be responsible for applying coercion to send self-produced sexual images (Englander, 2012). Alongside the initial pressure to make and send an image, research by Temple, Le, van den Berg, Ling, Paul and Temple (2014) found that of those who had been asked to sext, girls were significantly more likely than boys to be 'bothered a great deal by it'. Henderson and Morgan, (2011) also suggest that females are more likely to view sexting as causing serious negative consequences, with teenage girls reporting being 'disturbed' and 'traumatised' by the unauthorised distribution of their images (Powell, 2010; Ringrose et al., 2012). For some authors, this distribution ultimately reflects another means of controlling and exerting power over women and in this regard, girls may in some ways be

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'disproportionately impacted by sexting behaviours' (Peterson-Iyer, 2013; Flood, 2008). This has also been noted in a study by Drouin, Ross and Tobin (2015) in a sample of 480 young, undergraduates, approximately one fifth of which indicated that they had engaged in sexting when they did not want to. Coercion included subtle tactics such as repeatedly being asked and being made to feel obligated, rather than more severe forms of coercion. But these young people identified that the associated trauma was greater for sexting (both at the time it happened and looking back) than it was for coercion into having physical sex. This was greater for women than men, as were associated psychological symptoms of anxiety and depression

As noted by Wolak and Finkelhor (2011) in their law enforcement data, the cases that were classified as 'Aggravated' involved additional criminal or abusive elements that went beyond the creation, distribution or possession of self-produced content. They divided these cases into two distinct subgroups: cases that involved sexual offending by adults and those that exclusively involved young people. The cases which described the involvement of adults involved in criminal relationships with young people, where the sexual images were generally, but not always, solicited by the adult offenders. The case descriptions suggested by these authors suggested that many of these young people developed romantic or sexual attachments to these offenders. The cases involving only young people were further divided by Wolak and Finkelhor (2011) into two groups: 'reckless misuse' and 'intent to harm', with the intention behind the activity being seen as critical. The misuse category largely referred to the distribution of images without the explicit permission of the young person in the image.

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To date there is very little recent research to help us understand the role of sexual abuse images in coercive relationships with adults, although Kloess, Beech and Harkin (2014) have noted the increase in the number of adults using the Internet to befriend and exploit children for sexual gratification, the production and distribution of sexually explicit images, and contact that may lead to, or facilitate, a sexual offence. While the relationship between downloading images and contact offending has dominated much of the Internet offender-related research (Eke, Seto & Williams, 2010), there is less clarity about the use of sexual images and online grooming. In a qualitative study of offenders who had committed an online grooming offence, Quayle et al. (2014) concluded that technology afforded the opportunity to simultaneously contact and communicate with multiple victims within a discrete period of time, dropping the ones who did not respond and engaging with others thought to be easier targets. The sexual behavior that did take place was often prompted by the easy exchange of photographs, text or the presence of web cams, without any physical contact, or the risks that would be associated. While there was no evidence within this sample that young people were, as suggested by Lanning (2001), sent images to lower their inhibitions, there was ample evidence of requests for images, and the use of images and web cams to enable sexual fantasy. For some respondents in this study, establishing a 'relationship' (which might have taken minutes or days or longer) allowed them to request still or moving images from young people. However for some offenders within the sample, what was important was an exchange of images, which included having young people as an audience to the respondents' own sexual performances, similar to that reported by Briggs et al. (2011).

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Conclusions

While there has been considerable interest in child abuse images, this has largely been in relation to their significance in the offending process. The role of child sexual abuse images in both coercive and non-coercive relationships is relatively under-researched, although there is a growing literature on self-produced images by adolescents. Martin and Allagia (2013) have suggested the need to think about cyberspace as part of an ecological system to allow practitioners to understand the interactions between children and their environment at interpersonal, community, organizational, and societal levels. This has also been a framework used by Whittle, Hamilton-Giachritsis, Beech and Collings (2013) in relation to risk, protection and resilience in young people sexually groomed online. Hamilton-Giachritsis, Peixoto and Melo (2011) have conceptualised child abuse as a dynamic process, which involves the child, their relationship with others, their community and culture. Expanding this framework explicitly to include the dynamics of technological change allows us to understand the complexities of the individual, living in a mediated context, which affords opportunities to expand their social frame of reference. The ability to self-produce and disseminate content is part of that social world, whereby young people make decisions about their sexual identity, rights, personal agency and autonomy. The implications of this require a more nuanced understanding by practitioners in order to work more effectively with young people to manage responsible relationships that are likely to be mediated in some form by technology.

To date, there is a gap in our knowledge about the role of coercion and the impact that this may have on disclosure by minors as well as its association with

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longer-lasting psychological pathologies. While industry is playing an active role in the digital fingerprinting of child abuse images to prevent people sharing them online (International Business Times, 2015), there is a constant reminder, particularly from social media sites, to take and share content. It seems inevitable that at least some of this content will be sexual, and while for many adolescents this may not be associated with long lasting harm we need to recognize that for a smaller number of young people levels of coercion may have been involved. In cases of online solicitation or grooming the creation and sharing may be part of criminal activity, but coercion may take much subtler forms, may be associated with harm and may still be open to abuse.

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